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AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
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SUBJECT: A/S KANSTEINER DELIVERS MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO
OPPOSITION AND CIVIL SOCIETY REPRESENTATIVES

REF: A) HARARE 3401 B) HARARE 3691 C) HARARE 3631

CLASSIFIED BY POLITICAL SECTION CHIEF MATT HARRINGTON.
REASONS: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY

1. (C) DURING HIS DECEMBER 10-11 VISIT TO HARARE, AF ASSISTANT SECRETARY MET WITH A RANGE OF INDIVIDUALS OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING MDC LEADER MORGAN TSVANGIRAI, SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WILSON SANDURA, UNDP RESREP VICTOR ANGELO, COMMERCIAL FARMERS UNION (CFU) OFFICIALS, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND OTHER NGOS. KANSTEINER HEARD A CONSISTENT REFRAIN THAT ZIMBABWE'S POLITICAL CRISIS AND ECONOMIC MESS WILL CONTINUE TO WORSEN IN THE RUN-UP TO THE ELECTION AND THAT THE GOZ/ZANU-PF ARE EMPLOYING A RANGE OF TACTICS TO INCREASE THEIR PROSPECTS IN NEXT YEAR'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND LIMIT INTERNATIONAL SCRUTINY OF THEIR ACTIONS. ON ZDERA, TSVANGIRAI RECOGNIZED THE THREAT OF IMPOSING RESTRICTIONS ON THE RULING ELITE COULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN THE ACTION, BUT HE HOPED THE USG WOULD IMPLEMENT AT LEAST ONE RESTRICTION TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT MEANS BUSINESS. A PROMINENT HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST ASSERTED THAT, SINCE THE JUDICIARY HAS BEEN COMPROMISED, ZIMBABWEANS NOW MUST COUNT ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

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TO HOLD THE ZANU-PF LEADERSHIP ACCOUNTABLE FOR ITS ACTIONS. UNDP RESREP REPORTED THAT WFP IS READY TO MOVE FORWARD WITH HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, BUT THE GOZ HAS NOT SIGNED THE LETTER OF UNDERSTANDING BECAUSE IT DISAGREES WITH WFP'S ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF THE FOOD CRISIS, AND BECAUSE THE TWO SIDES HAVE NOT AGREED ON THE DELIVERY MECHANISM. (NOTE: THE LETTER OF UNDERSTANDING WAS SIGNED SUBSEQUENT TO THIS MEETING.) END SUMMARY.

MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE (MDC)

2. (C) MDC PRESIDENT MORGAN TSVANGIRAI, ACCOMPANIED BY DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL GIFT CHIMANIKIRE AND ELECTIONS DIRECTOR PAUL THEMBA-NYATHI, TOLD KANSTEINER THAT HIS PARTY IS UNABLE TO CAMPAIGN IN CERTAIN AREAS OF THE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY MASHONALAND CENTRAL AND PARTS OF MASHONALAND WEST. ASKED HOW THE MDC GOT ITS MESSAGE TO THE RESIDENTS OF THOSE AREAS, TSVANGIRAI SAID SUPPORTERS GO IN UNDER THE COVER OF NIGHT TO DISTRIBUTE PAMPHLETS, NOT, HE POINTED OUT, AN APPROACH ONE WOULD EXPECT IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. HE ADDED THAT THE BREAK BETWEEN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN JUNE 2000 AND NEXT YEAR'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HAS ENABLED THE PARTY TO PENETRATE AREAS FORMERLY CLOSED TO IT,

AND GIVEN THEM TIME TO CONVINCE ZIMBABWEANS THAT THE ONLY WAY TO STOP THE VIOLENCE IS TO VOTE OUT THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT. TSVANGIRAI PREDICTED THAT THE MDC WOULD HAVE LOST IF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HAD BEEN HELD IN JUNE 2000. THE PARTY'S VICTORY IN THE CHEGUTU MAYORAL RACE IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE BENEFITS OF THAT BREAK IN THE ACTION, AND PROVIDED A HUGE PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST TO THE PARTY AND

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ITS SUPPORTERS.

13. (C) TSVANGIRAI SAID THE CHALLENGE FOR THE MDC IS TO STAY FOCUSED ON WINNING THE ELECTION AND NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE DISTRACTED BY INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES SUCH AS THE SADC EFFORT WHICH, FROM THE GOZ PERSPECTIVE, ARE ONLY MEANT TO BUY TIME. HE REPORTED THAT ZANU-PF ELDER STATESMAN EDDISON ZVOBGO'S ESTRANGEMENT FROM MUGABE IS PROVING HELPFUL TO THE MDC'S PROSPECTS IN PIVOTAL MASVINGO PROVINCE. ASKED WHETHER ZVOBGO, WHO IS THE KINGMAKER IN MASVINGO, IS TELLING HIS SUPPORTERS TO VOTE FOR THE MDC, TSVANGIRAI SAID HE IS TELLING THEM TO GO AND VOTE, BUT NOT

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FOR MUGABE.

14. (C) THE MDC LEADER RAISED ZDERA, SAYING HE THOUGHT ITS CONGRESSIONAL PASSAGE CAUGHT THE GOZ BY SURPRISE, AND KEY LEADERS ARE IN A PANIC AT THE POSSIBILITY THEY MIGHT BE TARGETED. HE RECOGNIZED THAT THE THREAT MAY BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN THE IMPOSITION, BUT HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY FOR THE USG TO IMPLEMENT AT LEAST ONE RESTRICTION IN ADVANCE OF THE ELECTION TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT MEANS BUSINESS. KANSTEINER RESPONDED THAT WE DO HAVE FLEXIBILITY IN SELECTING WHOM WOULD BE TARGETED AND IN OUR CHOICE OF EITHER TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS OR ASSET SEIZURE, OR BOTH. WHAT

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THE USG WANTS TO AVOID, HOWEVER, IS GIVING MUGABE AN EFFECTIVE RALLYING CRY. TSVANGIRAI SUGGESTED KANSTEINER COULD LESSEN THAT RISK BY EMPHASIZING IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE LATER THAT DAY THAT ZDERA DOES NOT IMPOSE SANCTIONS AGAINST THE ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE, WHICH THE USG CONTINUES TO HELP WITH SIGNIFICANT LEVELS OF ASSISTANCE.

15. (C) THEMBA-NYATHI URGED THE UNITED STATES TO COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH ZIMBABWE'S SADC NEIGHBORS. WE ARE DOING THAT ON SEVERAL LEVELS, KANSTEINER REPLIED. HE SAID HE HAD MET AT UNGA WITH SADC FOREIGN MINISTERS, AND THAT ALL OF THEM, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA, AGREED WITH THE U.S. APPROACH TOWARD ZIMBABWE. PRESIDENTS BUSH AND MBEKI HAD ALSO HAD A GOOD DISCUSSION ABOUT ZIMBABWE AND, ON THE MARGINS, HE HAD PRESSED FM ZUMA ON THE

IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA TAKING A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN ADDRESSING THE CRISIS CONSUMING ITS NORTHERN NEIGHBOR.

16. (C) TURNING TO THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, THEMBA-NYATHI RECALLED MINISTER OF JUSTICE CHINAMASA'S STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT THAT THE GOZ DID NOT HAVE THE RESOURCES TO PURCHASE TRANSLUCENT BALLOT BOXES BUT WOULD ACCEPT DONATIONS FROM THE UNDP FOR THIS PURPOSE, AND HE URGED THAT WE CALL CHINAMASA'S BLUFF. THE AMBASSADOR AGREED TO MAKE SUCH AN OFFER TO THE UNDP (WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY OFFERED UNDP FUNDING TO CHINAMASA). POLITICAL SECTION CHIEF RECALLED
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THAT ELECTORAL SUPERVISORY COMMISSION (ESC) CHAIRMAN GULANDEBELE HAD DEMONSTRATED A WILLINGNESS IN A RECENT MEETING WITH US TO ACCEPT THE INPUT OF POLITICAL PARTIES. IF THE ESC WAS SERIOUS ABOUT SUCH AN OFFER, TSVANGIRAI REJOINED, IT WOULD INVITE PARTY REPRESENTATIVES TO SIT ON THE COMMISSION. TWO ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS, THEMBA-NYATHI COMMENTED, ARE THE ESC'S ABDICATION OF MUCH OF ITS AUTHORITY TO THE PARTISAN REGISTRAR-GENERAL, AND THE ELECTORAL ACT'S VESTING OF TOO MUCH POWER IN THE PRESIDENT, WHO IS ONE OF THE CONTESTANTS.

THE VIEW FROM CIVIL SOCIETY

17. (C) IN A LUNCH WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS, KANSTEINER NOTED THE CRUCIAL ROLE THEY PLAY IN A DEMOCRACY, PRAISED THEM FOR THEIR COURAGE UNDER DIFFICULT CONDITIONS, AND EXPRESSED U.S. SUPPORT FOR THEIR EFFORTS.

18. (C) REGINALD MATCHABE-HOVE, CHAIRMAN OF THE ZIMBABWE ELECTION SUPPORT NETWORK (ZESN), EXPRESSED SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT THE ELECTORAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE ELECTORAL ACT. PROVISIONS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN WERE REQUIREMENTS THAT: ONLY CIVIL SERVANTS WOULD SERVE AS MONITORS; ALL FUNDING FOR VOTER EDUCATION MUST GO THROUGH THE GOZ-APPOINTED ESC; THE REGISTRAR-GENERAL AND HIS OFFICERS WILL BE EMPOWERED TO ALTER THE VOTERS ROLL AT ANY TIME; AND ONLY DIPLOMATS AND SOLDIERS WOULD BE ABLE TO VOTE BY ABSENTEE BALLOT, POTENTIALLY DISENFRANCHISING UP TO ONE MILLION ZIMBABWEANS
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LIVING ABROAD. EILEEN SAWYER, EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR OF THE LEGAL RESOURCES FOUNDATION, SAID THE CITIZENSHIP ACT, WHICH REQUIRES ZIMBABWEAN DUAL CITIZENS TO RENOUNCE THEIR FOREIGN CITIZENSHIP, COULD DISENFRANCHISE UP TO TWO MILLION PEOPLE, PRIMARILY COMMERCIAL FARMWORKERS OF MOZAMBIKAN, MALAWIAN, AND BOTSWANAN ORIGIN.

19. (C) TONY REELER, DIRECTOR OF THE WELL-RESPECTED HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION, AMANI TRUST, SAID IT IS CLEAR FROM THE PENDING LEGISLATION THAT GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO CLOSE DOWN PUBLIC SPACE. IN ADDITION TO THE BILLS DESCRIBED ABOVE, REELER DECRIED THE PENDING ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND PROTECTION OF PRIVACY ACT, WHICH COULD DO AWAY WITH INDEPENDENT JOURNALISTS, AND THE "DRACONIAN" PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY BILL, WHICH WILL GREATLY INCREASE THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT TO SQUELCH DISSENT. ACCORDING TO REELER, VIOLENCE IS SPREADING, NOT DIMINISHING, THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE ZANU-PF SUPPORTERS PERPETRATING THE PREPONDERANCE OF THE VIOLENCE HAVE SET UP BASE CAMPS NATIONWIDE, AND MOST OF THEM HAVE BEEN DRAWN FROM THE GOVERNMENT'S RECENTLY-INAUGURATED NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE TRAINING PROGRAM. IN ADDITION, THE GOZ HAS ACCELERATED ITS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MDC AT EVERY LEVEL. LYDIA ZIGOMO, PRESIDENT OF THE ZIMBABWE WOMEN LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION, SAID

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IT IS HARD TO GET A GOOD SENSE OF THE SCOPE OF THE
VIOLENCE, AND TO MEASURE ITS FULL IMPACT, BECAUSE SO MANY
RURAL AREAS HAVE BEEN DECLARED OFF-LIMITS TO ANYONE OTHER
THAN ZANU-PF SUPPORTERS.

110. (C) KANSTEINER ASKED AT WHAT POINT CIVIL SOCIETY WOULD
DECIDE THAT THE ELECTION CANNOT POSSIBLY BE FREE AND FAIR.
ANDREW NGONGO, DIRECTOR OF TRANSPARENCY
INTERNATIONAL/ZIMBABWE, SAID THE FOCUS OF MOST CIVIC
ORGANIZATIONS HAS BEEN ON PRESSING THE GOZ TO ABIDE BY
MINIMUM ELECTORAL STANDARDS, SUCH AS AN INDEPENDENT
ELECTION COMMISSION AND BALANCED ACCESS TO THE MEDIA, BUT
HE AGREED THAT CIVIC GROUPS NEED TO CONSIDER THE POINT
KANSTEINER RAISED. NGO REPRESENTATIVES RECOGNIZED THAT THE
MDC WAS COMMITTED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS, COME
WHAT MAY, AND THAT CIVIL SOCIETY COULD NOT UNDERCUT THEIR
DECISION TO CONTEST.

111. (C) BRIAN KAGORO, A LEADING LAWYER AND COORDINATOR OF
THE CRISIS IN ZIMBABWE TASK FORCE, DECLARED THAT THE GOZ IS
PURSUING A "TOTAL STRATEGY" THAT WILL KEEP THEM IN POWER
WELL BEYOND THE ELECTION. THE RESTRICTIVE LAWS WILL REMAIN
IN PLACE, YOUTHS IN THE NATIONAL SERVICE PROGRAM ARE
RECEIVING MILITARY TRAINING, WAR VETERANS ARE BEING ISSUED
GUNS; THESE ARE THE ACTIONS OF A GOVERNMENT PLANNING FOR
THE LONGER TERM, NOT JUST FOR AN ELECTION WHICH IS ONLY
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MONTHS AWAY. GOVERNMENT, HE ASSERTED, IS "TRYING TO TAKE
US BACK TO 1965 AND RESUSCITATE RHODESIA," BY CLOSING DOWN
THE ECONOMY AND POLITICAL AND CIVIC SPACE. REELER LAMENTED
THAT ZIMBABWEANS CAN NO LONGER DEPEND ON THE COURTS TO ACT
INDEPENDENTLY AND MUST NOW DEPEND ON THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY TO HOLD ZANU-PF LEADERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR
ACTIONS.

JUSTICE SANDURA

112. (C) SUPREME COURT JUSTICE SANDURA IS ZIMBABWE'S SENIOR
BLACK JUDGE AND HAS SERVED ON THE SUPREME COURT SINCE 1998.
HE WAS WIDELY CONSIDERED THE LEADING CANDIDATE TO REPLACE
FORMER CHIEF JUSTICE GUBBAY BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT'S MOVE TO
STACK THE COUNTRY'S HIGHEST BENCH WITH SYMPATHETIC JURISTS.
SANDURA WAS CONTEMPTUOUS OF HIS NEW COLLEAGUES' DECEMBER 3
RULING ENDORSING THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE FAST TRACK
RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM AND AGREEING THAT THE RULE OF LAW HAD
BEEN RESTORED ON COMMERCIAL FARMS (REF C). THE RULE OF
LAW, HE SAID, PREVAILS NOWHERE IN THIS COUNTRY, NOT ON
COMMERCIAL FARMS AND NOT IN URBAN AREAS. CHIEF JUSTICE
CHIDYAUSIKU'S JUDGMENT IN THE CASE WAS MERELY A POLITICAL
STATEMENT WHICH IGNORED THE LEGAL ISSUES. IN ORDER TO
CLAIM THAT IT WAS ABIDING BY THE RULE OF LAW, THE GOZ HAD
LEGALIZED THE OCCUPATION OF FARMS. "HOW CAN YOU PASS A LAW
SAYING THAT A TRESPASSER WHO COMES INTO YOUR HOUSE CAN STAY
THERE UNTIL YOU FIND SOMEWHERE ELSE TO PUT HIM?" THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS WHAT IS DRIVING FAST TRACK,
SANDURA SAID, AS GIVING LAND TO THE PEOPLE IS THE ONLY
ISSUE MUGABE HAS TO TALK ABOUT.

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113. (C) SANDURA DESCRIBED THE CAMPAIGN OF INTIMIDATION
AGAINST THE JUDICIARY DURING THE PAST YEAR, INCLUDING THE
INVASION OF THE SUPREME COURT IN DECEMBER 2000 AND THE
THREATS BY WAR VETERANS TO KILL JUDGES IN THEIR HOMES.
POINTING OUT THAT NOT A SINGLE GOVERNMENT MINISTER
CRITICIZED THESE DEVELOPMENTS, SANDURA ASKED WHAT MESSAGE
THAT SENT TO THE WAR VETERANS. ASKED WHETHER HE OR OTHER
MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COURT HAD BEEN SUBJECTED TO
ADDITIONAL INTIMIDATION SINCE GUBBAY'S FORCED RESIGNATION
IN JULY, SANDURA SAID NO, BECAUSE THE GOZ HAD ACHIEVED ITS
OBJECTIVE OF APPOINTING FOUR NEW JUSTICES WHO WILL DO WHAT

THEY ARE TOLD.

14. (C) POLITICAL SECTION CHIEF NOTED THAT GOVERNMENT WAS LIKELY UNHAPPY WITH SANDURA'S RECENT DECISION THAT THE HARARE MAYORAL ELECTION MUST BE HELD BY FEBRUARY 11. THE JUSTICE REPLIED THAT THE LAW WAS STRAIGHTFORWARD AND PROVIDED LITTLE LATITUDE FOR RULING ANY OTHER WAY. HE WAS NOT SURE WHETHER THE GOZ WOULD ABIDE BY THE DECISION, HOWEVER. INSTEAD, HE THOUGHT GOVERNMENT MIGHT TRY TO PASS ANOTHER LAW ALLOWING IT TO DELAY THE HARARE MUNICIPAL ELECTION INDEFINITELY, SINCE AN OVERWHELMING MDC VICTORY IN THE CAPITAL CITY IS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION. AT A MINIMUM,

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SANDURA POINTED OUT, THE GOZ WOULD HAVE TO PASS RETROACTIVE LEGISLATION VALIDATING THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION -- SUCH AS THE CONTRACTS THEY SIGNED AND OTHER COMMITMENTS THEY ASSUMED -- IN CHARGE OF HARARE SINCE THE PREVIOUS MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL WERE FORCED OUT ON CORRUPTION CHARGES IN 1999.

15. (C) ASKED WHAT IMPACT AN MDC VICTORY WOULD HAVE ON THE SUPREME COURT, SANDURA SAID HE SUSPECTS CHIDYAUSSIKU MIGHT RESIGN, SINCE HE HAS ALIGNED HIMSELF SO CLOSELY WITH ZANU-PF. HE ADDED THAT AN MDC PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET WOULD HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY GETTING ANY LAWS PASSED THROUGH PARLIAMENT, GIVEN ZANU-PF'S MAJORITY IN THE LEGISLATIVE BODY. A PRESIDENT TSVANGIRAI WOULD HAVE LITTLE CHOICE, THEREFORE, BUT TO CALL FOR A NEW PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, WHICH IS A CLEAR PRESIDENTIAL PREROGATIVE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

COMMERCIAL FARMERS UNION

16. (C) CFU ACTING PRESIDENT DOUG TAYLOR AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR MALCOLM VOWLES PROVIDED A BLEAK ASSESSMENT OF EXPECTED AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION. MAIZE PRODUCTION WOULD LIKELY BE 25% OF NORMAL LEVELS, WHILE SOYBEAN AND WHEAT PLANTINGS ARE EACH DOWN 60%. THE GOZ, VOWLES SAID, IS STILL IN DENIAL ABOUT THE LOOMING FOOD SHORTAGES.

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ACCORDING TO VOWLES, WHEN THE SADC MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE (REF B) ASKED GOZ REPRESENTATIVES WHETHER ZIMBABWE WOULD EXPERIENCE A SIGNIFICANT MAIZE SHORTAGE, THEY INITIALLY TRIED TO DUCK THE QUESTION, THEN ONLY ADMITTED TO AN EXPECTED SHORTFALL NEXT APRIL.

17. (C) ASKED WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY REDUCTION IN VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION ON THE FARMS, VOWLES SAID "NOT THAT WE'VE SEEN." PROBLEMS ARISE WHEN PROPERTY-OWNERS CONFRONT THE SQUATTERS OR TRY TO PLANT, SO MANY FARMERS ARE

STAYING ON THEIR FARMS WITHOUT CULTIVATING THEIR FIELDS. KANSTEINER ASKED WHETHER SETTLERS ARE LEAVING OCCUPIED PROPERTIES TO RETURN TO THEIR COMMUNAL LANDS. VOWLES HAD HEARD OF ONE OR TWO CASES BUT NOTHING THAT COULD BE CALLED A PATTERN. ASKED HOW THE SQUATTERS SURVIVE, VOWLES SAID BY SELLING FIREWOOD, POACHING, AND EXTORTION. ANOTHER SOURCE OF INCOME, TAYLOR ADDED, IS PEOPLE WITH JOBS IN NEARBY TOWNS WHO PAY THE SQUATTERS TO SIT ON PLOTS OF LAND THEY ARE HOPING TO ACQUIRE UNDER FAST TRACK.

118. (C) VOWLES ASKED FOR USG ASSISTANCE ON ONE ISSUE. THERE WAS A BLATANT CONTRADICTION, HE SAID, BETWEEN THE SUPREME COURT'S MAJOR RULING ON LAND ON DECEMBER 21, 2000, AND ITS LATEST DECISION. THE CFU'S LAWYERS ARE NOW DOING A LEGAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONTRADICTIONS, AND HAVE ASKED THE INTERNATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION TO ASSIST IN THAT PROCESS. ANYTHING THE U.S. COULD DO TO REINFORCE THIS EFFORT WOULD BE GREATLY APPRECIATED, VOWLES SAID. KANSTEINER SAID HE WOULD BE GLAD TO TOUCH BASE WITH THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AND ENCOURAGE IT TO BE HELPFUL.

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119. (C) UNDP RESREP VICTOR ANGELO TOLD KANSTEINER THAT ZIMBABWE IS JUST AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ROAD IN TERMS OF POLITICAL CRISIS AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIP. ACCESS TO FOOD IS ALREADY BECOMING DIFFICULT IN RURAL AREAS. FARMERS ARE EITHER HOLDING ONTO THEIR GRAIN OR FEEDING IT TO THEIR ANIMALS BECAUSE OF THE LOW PRICES BEING OFFERED BY GOVERNMENT. ASKED WHETHER THE GOZ HAS SUFFICIENT RESOURCES TO IMPORT GRAIN OVER THE NEXT THREE MONTHS, ANGELO SAID THE FOREX SHORTAGE POSES A SIGNIFICANT OBSTACLE. THEY HAVE RECENTLY IMPORTED 100,000 TONS OF MAIZE FROM SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH WILL ONLY MAKE THE LOOMING MAIZE SHORTAGE "LESS DRAMATIC." WFP IS READY TO MOVE, BUT THE GOZ HAS NOT SIGNED THE LETTER OF UNDERSTANDING (LOU) BECAUSE IT DISAGREES WITH WFP'S ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF THE FOOD CRISIS AND BECAUSE THE TWO SIDES HAVE YET TO AGREE ON A DELIVERY MECHANISM. WFP'S POSITION ON THE LATTER POINT IS CLEAR, ACCORDING TO ANGELO: THAT WFP MUST MAINTAIN CONTROL OVER FOOD DELIVERIES, WHICH CANNOT BE USED BY EITHER MAJOR POLITICAL PARTY TO LOBBY FOR VOTES. IF THE LOU WERE SIGNED TODAY, ANGELO SAID WFP COULD HAVE AN OPERATION IN PLACE WITHIN TWO WEEKS, AND WOULD BEGIN BY DRAWING DOWN SOME

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ACTION AF-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	INL-00	DINT-00	DODE-00
	DOTE-00	WHA-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EAP-00	EB-00	EUR-00
	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01
	L-00	VCE-00	AC-01	NSAE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00
	PC-01	PM-00	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	TRSE-00
	USIE-00	R-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00	NFAT-00
	SAS-00	SWCI-00	/008W				

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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0549
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
AMEMBASSY ABUJA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 05 HARARE 003730

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER
LONDON FOR GURNEY
PARIS FOR NEARY
NAIROBI FOR PFLAUMER

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E.O. 12958: DECL. 12/04/11
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SUBJECT: A/S KANSTEINER DELIVERS MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO
OPPOSITION AND CIVIL SOCIETY REPRESENTATIVES

STOCKS IN MOZAMBIQUE. (NOTE: THE LOU HAS BEEN SIGNED
SUBSEQUENTLY, WITH THE GOZ AGREEING TO WFP TERMS.)

120. (C) TURNING TO INTERNAL POLITICS, ANGELO SAID A GROWING NUMBER OF PEOPLE WITHIN ZANU-PF REALIZE THE RULING PARTY IS ON A SUICIDAL PATH, BUT THEY ARE NOT WILLING TO STAND UP TO PRESIDENT MUGABE. POLICY IS DETERMINED BY A SMALL GROUP OF HARDLINERS AROUND MUGABE, WHO ARE ENERGETIC AND VOCAL. ANGELO INCLUDED IN THIS GROUP INFORMATION MINISTER JONATHAN MOYO; JUSTICE MINISTER PATRICK CHINAMASA; LOCAL GOVERNMENT MINISTER IGNATIUS CHOMBO ("VERY TOUGH AND AMBITIOUS, A STRATEGIC THINKER, COMES FROM THE SAME REGION AS MUGABE"); POLICE COMMISSIONER AUGUSTINE CHIHURI; AIR FORCE COMMANDER PERENCE SHIRI; AND CHARLES UTETE ("A KEY PLAYER; BECAUSE OF HIS TRAINING IN THE U.S., HE UNDERSTANDS THE NEED TO COMPROMISE AND WOULD BE READY TO DO BUSINESS.") ASKED WHETHER THE MEMBERS OF THIS GROUP WOULD CUT MUGABE LOOSE, ANGELO SAID YES, BECAUSE THEY KNOW THE LAWS OF HUMAN NATURE, THAT MUGABE WILL GO SOONER OR LATER. THE MEMBERS OF THIS GROUP ARE PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH THREE ISSUES: THE ELECTION, SUCCESSION, AND PROTECTION (OF ASSETS AND FROM PROSECUTION). UNLESS THESE THREE ISSUES ARE ADDRESSED, ANGELO EMPHASIZED, WE WILL NOT SEE ANY CHANGE IN THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN ZIMBABWE.

121. (C) ASKED WHETHER THE UN PLANNED TO MOUNT AN ELECTION
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OBSERVATION EFFORT, ANGELO SAID NO. THE UN HAD TOLD THE GOZ IT WANTED AN INVITATION BY SEPTEMBER BECAUSE IT DID NOT WANT A TEAM TO COME IN AT THE LAST MINUTE MERELY TO ENDORSE A FLAWED PROCESS. THE AMBASSADOR SAID SOME ANALYSTS CONTEND THAT THE GOZ IS EMPLOYING A COMPREHENSIVE, WELL-COORDINATED STRATEGY TO ENSURE IT WINS THE ELECTION. IS THE STRATEGY REALLY THAT WELL-ORCHESTRATED, OR IS IT MOSTLY CONFUSION AND DISORDER? A COMBINATION OF THE TWO, ANGELO REPLIED. THE GOZ IS DOING THINGS LIKE MAKING IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR YOUNG, URBAN VOTERS TO REGISTER BUT WILL FIND, IN THE END, THAT IT IS NOT EASY TO MANAGE THE VOTE-COUNTING PROCESS TO ITS SATISFACTION. THE GOZ, HE SAID, COULD EXPERIENCE "A VERY COLD SHOWER" ONCE THE VOTES ARE COUNTED. THE ANTI-ZANU-PF PROTEST VOTE IS GROWING DAILY ACROSS THE COUNTRY, AS MORE AND MORE PEOPLE REALIZE THEIR COUNTRY IS BEING RUINED AND DO NOT WANT ZIMBABWE TO BECOME THE LATEST FAILED AFRICAN STATE.

122. (C) COMMENT: IN A CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR FOLLOWING A/S KANSTEINER'S DEPARTURE, ANGELO AGREED TO CALL CHINAMASA'S BLUFF ON TRANSLUCENT BALLOT BOXES. HE REPORTED BACK THAT CHINAMASA ACCEPTED THE OFFER AND HAD PROMISED TO SEND AN OFFICIAL REQUEST. WHEN AND IF THIS ARRIVES, WE HAVE PRE-PROGRAMMED ESF WITH WHICH TO PROVIDE PARTIAL FUNDING FOR THIS COMMODITY THROUGH UNDP. END COMMENT.

SULLIVAN

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